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## INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Spain

DATE:

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SUBJECT Communist Plans and Tactics with Relation to  
SpainDIST. <sup>29</sup> May 1947

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SUPPLEMENT

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1. The Communist Party of Spain and its Catalan and Basque affiliates are continuing to carry out their policy of "direct action" - or insurrectional activity - against the Franco regime. Recently, however, this insurrectional policy has been revised according to a more studied political formula. The militant extremism previously adopted has given way to a more complex policy.
2. The Communists think that their insurrectional activities must be continued, but that at the same time they must try to avoid, as far as possible, providing Franco with material for propaganda. At present, more "direct actions" are carried out in the country than in the cities. The Communists are continuing their insurrectional activity to a sufficient degree to enable them to take credit, when the regime is overthrown, for having maintained a continuous and effective fight to that end. They believe that no matter what sort of regime replaces the present one, they will be able to convince the Spanish masses that their own sustained activities played a dominant role in getting rid of Franco.
3. The Communists are taking full advantage of their armed activity to create trained cadres of combattants. At present, acts of resistance are carefully distributed and coordinated. A decrease of activity in one area is balanced by an increase in another. During the past few months, the Communists have gained strength in Andalusia, the Levante and Galicia. This fact seems to indicate that the masses of those regions are favorably impressed by the improvement in Communist technique, as exemplified by the well synchronized conduct of their acts of force.
4. Communism in Spain now has available an important human potential which is on "alerted" status, but which takes very little part in the current resistance activities. At present the Communists are not interested in throwing this mass in a bloc into an insurrection, because they are aware that although a Communist uprising could more or less seriously disturb the regime it would not succeed in overthrowing it, and the consequent repression would liquidate almost entirely the best Communist groups in Spain.
5. If the National Council of Resistance which the Communists are advocating is finally organized, the Communists would proceed, through this organization, to throw their potential into the fight in waves, in such a way

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that, if possible, their forces at any one point would be of greater importance than all the others together, but always in a fixed proportion to non-Communist republican forces. The Communists think that the non-Communist republican forces, even though numerous, could not be mobilized effectively for fighting and would be rapidly exhausted. Until the moment of open insurrection, the Communist forces would not appear to be so far superior to the others as to be alarming. But once all the "allied" forces were thrown into the fight, the Communists would be overwhelmingly superior.

6. An organization which was set up in Yugoslavia at the end of the war to study tactics for an uprising in Spain, and which has even made studies of such practical details as material and technical cadres, has completed its plans and apparently has shifted its center of activity from Yugoslavia to Warsaw. The liaison between the organization and the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party is probably Colonel Enrique Lister. If the National Council of Resistance should be formed, and if through it the Communists should launch an insurrection, there is no doubt that the Eastern European countries included in the Soviet sphere of influence would give powerful aid to the revolt.
7. At present Spanish communism has a certain interest in concealing its possibilities for insurrection because of suspicions existing about the party among the Republicans, the Socialists, and to an even greater extent in the CNT - which distrust the Communists consider the most important psychological factor among those obstructing the union of the Spanish antifranquists.

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